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Emerton does not judge Erasmus, after 1517, by a standard of ideal excellence to the neglect of his previous career and sentiments. He only laments that he should not have risen to the height of his chances. Incidentally he did much for the Reformation, but with greater robustness of soul—not body—he might have done so much more!

We have tried to define Professor Emerton's attitude towards two or three of the main problems which are raised by mention of Erasmus's name. A word should now be said regarding the palpable merits of this study. One must not only have steeped himself in the ten folios of the Leyden edition before he writes of Erasmus. He needs clearness of thought, a systematic knowledge of the Reformation period, and a ready wit. Professor Emerton possesses the qualifications which have just been mentioned to a quite remarkable degree. His lightness of touch is equally unusual and attractive in its application to such a theme. Law and theology are not supposed to be the two most vivacious subjects in the world, but Madame du Deffand could criticize Montesquieu's masterpiece in the phrase, "de l'esprit sur les lois." One does not slight Professor Emerton's erudition in saying that he has written of the part which Erasmus took in the Reformation with a brightness which is due to Erasmus and which is seldom seen in treatises on the Reformation.

Calendar of Letters and State Papers (Spanish) relating to English Affairs. Vol. IV. Elizabeth, 1587–1603. Edited by MARTIN A. S. Hume. (London: Printed for Her Majesty's Stationery Office by Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1899. Pp. lxviii, 782.)

THE documents in this volume are, the editor informs us, chiefly derived from "the correspondence and reports of Spanish ambassadors, agents and other officers, existing in the Archives at Simancas and amongst the papers abstracted therefrom, and now preserved in the Archives Nationales in Paris, with the addition of a few documents from the British Museum and other national depositories." In nearly every case the original MS. has been transcribed by the editor's own hand and care has been taken "to retain almost literally everything of importance likely to interest students of English history." The reports of Mendoza on English affairs, less direct and doubtless less valuable since his expulsion from England, cease altogether in the spring of 1591, the year in which his stormy life ended, so that the "invaluable and copious Spanish diplomatic correspondence, which has done so much to illuminate English Tudor history, was practically suspended from 1590 to 1603." The documents relating to the closing years of Elizabeth's reign, though of great importance, yet lack, as Major Hume complains, "the continuity and completeness which characterize the correspondence up to the end of 1500."

It is but justice to call attention to the cleverness and life of Major Hume's translations and paraphrases, to the helpfulness of the footnotes and to the energy and patience required to select, translate and edit the enormous number of documents in the four volumes of this Elizabethan

Calendar. The present volume alone contains 746 documents, a lavish feast for the student of the time. The papers are not all unknown. Some of them may be found in Teulet and Duro, while extracts will be familiar to readers of Motley and Froude. The more Spartan type of investigator will not forget that Major Hume's documents are translations and will doubtless, in dealing with some of the riddles of the period, wish occasionally to see the original of a crucial phrase. But the whole object of the Calendar was of course to make the Spanish material available to a wide range of English readers.

The volumes of this Calendar, with their masses of historical information and the editor's brilliant introductions, are already so well known that it is scarcely necessary to emphasize their importance. This fourth volume is no exception. Indeed there are reasons which make it the most interesting of the series, since it deals with the many-sided history of the Armada period and with the years between the Armada and the Queen's death, that uncanny gap between the end of Froude and the beginning of Gardiner, across which some modern historian, helped by Major Hume's materials, would perhaps do well to build a solid bridge. One is disappointed, however, not to find in this volume more documents relating to the continuation of the naval war after 1589, especially perhaps to the great English expedition against Cadiz in 1596. editor could no doubt give satisfactory reasons for thus disappointing us. Some of the documents relating to the naval history of this period are used in the third volume of Duro's Armada Española, which, however, very probably appeared after Major Hume's volume had been sent to the printers.

The interest of the volume centres chiefly, however, in the Armada, which from the political standpoint may perhaps fairly be called the culmination of the reign. To be sure the history of the Armada can with little exaggeration be said to include the political and religious history of the whole reign, the history, that is to say, of the slowly evolving struggle between England and the powers of the Counter-Reformation, of which Philip II. gradually secured the supreme direction, emerging after many years from the dark confusion of plotters as the one great foeman. Yet the present volume is a focus of slowly converging rays which shed a full light upon the most conspicuous national event of the period. year at which the volume opens, hardly less tragic than 1588, saw the execution of the Queen of Scots, which flung defiance in the face of Catholic Europe, and the descent of Drake upon the coast of Spain, which showed that England had the spirit and the strength to answer for the deed with her sword. To our information regarding the actual fighting against the Armada, in the next year, Major Hume adds not very much that has been hitherto absolutely unknown. The most vital documents were already available in Duro, while several of Major Hume's documents, omitted by Duro, had been used by Froude. Those, however, who have not the time nor the zeal to consult the originals, will find here in lively English the Spaniards' own version of their defeat. The

documents in this *Calendar*, however, not only give English readers the Spanish side of the story, told from the English point of view by Laughton's *State Papers*, but will help them toward a solution of many important historical problems, which present themselves in connection with the events of 1588, such problems as the attitude maintained toward the Enterprize by the Guises, the Pope, the King of France, and the Duke of Parma. This volume also illustrates the peculiar relation in which Philip stood to Mary Stuart and also the behavior and plans of the Scottish Catholic nobility in reference to the Spanish invasion of England. It illuminates, and perhaps solves, the further question whether Stafford, the English ambassador in Paris, was a real traitor, a question of far more than merely biographical interest.

Though the Armada is the culmination of the volume, as in a sense it was the culmination of the reign, it caused no sudden break in the plans of the morbidly tenacious old hermit king. The great struggle for the supremacy of Spain and Spain's religion continued everywhere; the Enterprize of England was a dream still cherished. Indeed the failure of the Counter-Armada of 1589 gave Philip some reason to believe that Heaven had not "for his sins" deserted him. But Spain's efforts were but the flaring of a dying fire. Even her successes were but the negative successes of defence. There was much talk in the late years of Philip and even after his death, of renewing, with better fortunes, the undertaking against England, but the new Armadas perished as hopelessly as the first, although the Spaniards effected an alarming junction with the forces of the rebel Tyrone.

For five years after Philip II. had sunk baffled and beaten into his orthodox grave the great heretic queen, who, with her hardy, sacrilegious islanders had done so much by sea and land to shatter his power and awaken him with cruel relentless buffetings from his dazzling dreams of empire, clung half unwilling to life. With her death the great struggle closes. Though the affront to Catherine of Aragon and the Church, and the blows dealt by the daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn to the Spaniards' hopes of subduing the world to God and their king were unavenged, peace reigned at last between the world-wide empire of the past and the world-wide empire of the future.

W. E. TILTON.

The Life and Campaigns of Alexander Leslie, First Earl of Leven. By Charles Sanford Terry, University Lecturer in History in the University of Aberdeen. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1899. Pp. xix, 518.)

From the frontispiece of this substantial volume looks forth a man's face of a type quite different from that of his master in the school of war, Gustavus Adolphus, whose medallion hangs upon his breast. A distinctly gross figure, lacking dignity except as clothes may give it, and with a face indicating common origin and one would almost say, an in-